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dren, who were afraid to remain alone or were unable to take care of their plantations. Two women who were rather poor lived in the house of Victoria Rapahango, the richest woman of the island. They helped her with her housework as if they were her servants. (See also 79, pp. 14-15.)

Social conditions have changed so much that it is impossible to determine whether this system of permanent guests belonged to the old culture. Very likely it constitutes the only survival of the extended family (*ivi*) living in one big hut and possessing land in common. Formerly, "hospitality was practiced in behalf of friends (*repa-hoa*) who might have been of the same cove or from some other place. It was extended to foreigners but always with the purpose of getting from them more than they gave" (190, p. 464).

The crowding of people into a single small house was in part due to scarcity of wood and the expense of building a new home. Zumbohm (230, vol. 6, p. 122) observes that in former times the habit of crowding ten or twelve persons into a small shack or into a cave was detrimental to morals as well as to health. People of a common abode were certainly relatives, probably brothers and cousins. When Viriamo was young she lived at Anakena with the first wife of her husband, his family, and four brothers. A *hare-paenga* was translated as a house with stone foundations. *Paenga* standing alone was given as a large family (probably extended family). There is certainly a link between the two ideas.

PATERNAL AUTHORITY

Even today, in spite of many examples to the contrary, there is a general tendency to recognize and respect the authority of a father. He can object to the marriage of his son or daughter, either of whom would hesitate to oppose his will. Tepano ruled his family despotically and treated his sons like servants, though they were grown and married. Charli Teao had so much authority over his sons that one of them, in our presence, jumped into the surf on a stormy day to salvage a hat, endangering his life to obey his father. Zumbohm (230, vol. 6, p. 383) tells of rescuing a boy whose father intended to drown him for disobedience.

RELATIONSHIP TERMS

The system of relationship terms of Easter Island is essentially the same as that used in the rest of Polynesia. It stresses the speaker's own generation level (0) and recognizes five or more generations (table 3). The terms which designate the generation strata are extended to the collaterals and include all members of the extended family.

Burrows' comparative researches have shown that the Easter Island relationship terms follow exactly the same pattern as those of central Polynesia (Tuamotu, Tahiti, Cook Islands) and Hawaii. However, with the ex-

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ception of the terms of address and the words for the brothers- and sisters-in-law, the Easter Island system does not distinguish sex. Sex is indicated by adding the words *tamaaroa* (male) and *tamahahine* (female) to the relationship terms. Because of the absence of the term *iramutu* used in Manihiki, Marquesas, and New Zealand to designate nephews and nieces, the Easter Island system seems nearer that of central Polynesia. As in New Zealand, an uncle or aunt is distinguished from father and mother by the word *keke* (different, remote) placed after *matua* and the father, uncle, or older brother is addressed as *koro*. An uncle may be addressed also as *korohua* (the old one) and the mother or aunt as *nua*. A father may address his son as *koro* which does not imply that *koro* is a reciprocal term. When applied to a son, it is a term of endearment and has almost the same connotation as the expression, "little father" used in French for a small boy. Similarly *nua* may be applied to a daughter. Adoptive parents are qualified by the term *matua hangai* (to feed) and are addressed as ordinary parents. Today the children address their parents with the terms "papa" and "mama" in European manner. Formerly grown children called their father by his given name (Zumbohm, 230, vol. 6, p. 131).

The term *tuakana* (self, sibling of same sex as speaker) seems to have fallen into disuse, but it has been preserved with its original meaning by Roussel. When asked for the term used for elder brother, my informants gave me the compound term *taina atariki*. They even mentioned a third term, *taina-tupuaki-atariki* or *taina vaenga*, which, according to them, indicated an older brother second to the eldest. I was told that brothers and sisters frequently address each other as *hoa* (friend).

As in New Zealand, the Tuamotus, the Marquesas, the Cook Islands, the Society Islands, and Hawaii, the word *taokete* designates the sibling-in-law of the speaker's sex (Burrows). At present, however, the natives do not abide by this rule and *taokete* designates also the brother-in-law of a woman. The ancient term for this relationship is *haana*. In a tale, a woman calls on her sister and is received by the latter's husband (*tangata haana*). A man calls his wife's sister *nuahine*, which corresponds to the Maori *auwahine*. The term *muko* is used for the husband of the sister-in-law or the wife of the brother-in-law. Parents-in-law of a couple are reciprocally *muko* to each other. The husband is *kenu* and the wife *vie*. In legends the term *mahaki* frequently refers to a parent, brother, sister, son, or daughter who is absent. Relationship on the distaff side was expressed by the word *heu*.

The term *ivi* (bone) designates descendants of a common ancestor and refers to the relationship group designated as lineage in this work; in New Zealand the same word designates a tribe, but in Mangareva it has the same significance as on Easter Island (*ivi*, family, genealogy). (See 28, p. 139.) The ancient relationship terms establish no obligations other than the coopera-

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TABLE 3. RELATIONSHIP TERMS

Generation Stratum	Collateral	Lineal	Affinal	Adoptive
—2 or more (ascendant)	tupuna (grand uncles and aunts)	tupuna (grandparents)		
—1	matua keke (uncles and aunts) matua tamaaroa (uncle) matua tamahahine (aunt)	matua (parents) matua tamaaroa (father) matua tamahahine (mother)	matua hungavai (parents-in-law) matua tamaaroa hungavai (father-in-law) matua tamahahine hungavai (mother-in-law)	matua hangai (adoptive parents) matua tamaaroa hangai (adoptive father) matua tamahahine hangai (adoptive mother)
0 (ego)	tuakana (senior cousin) taina (junior cousin)	tuakana (self, older brother or sister, same sex as speaker; brother or sister of opposite sex indicated by adding tamaaroa or tamahahine) taina (younger brother or sister) tuahine (sister, man speaking) vovo (elder sister, man speaking; term of address only)	taokete (brother-in-law or sister-in-law, same sex as speaker) haana (brother-in-law, woman speaking) nuahine (sister-in-law, man speaking) kenu (husband) vie (wife)	
+1	poki-tamaaroa tama-iti (nephew) kope poki-tamahahine vovo (niece)	poki-tamaaroa (male child) kope (young man) (son) tama-iti (child) atariki (first-born son) hangupotu (younger son) huatahi (only son) poki-tamahahine (female child) uka (young girl) vovo (term of address)	hunonga (son-in-law and daughter-in-law)	maanga (adopted child)
+2	makupuna (any relative two or more generations younger than the speaker)			
+3 (descendant)	hinarere (all relatives three generations younger than the speaker) makupuna			

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tion that members of a family are always ready to give each other. Relatives are inclined to exchange presents chiefly among themselves, but there is a constant giving and receiving among all of the people of the village of Hangaroa.

THE LIFE CYCLE

Birth

Children are always welcomed into a family and the rapid increase of the Easter Island population in the last fifty years indicates the fertility of most of the married couples. There are now 216 children under 13 years of age. I never heard of a woman who was annoyed at the prospect of having a child or of a woman who had an abortion. The desire for children is illustrated by the following popular Easter Island tale, which was given to me as an actual recent incident:

> A woman named Rere-ao slept with her husband but saw that she would never have a child. One day she noticed a woman who was pregnant. She pretended to be pregnant too. She also pretended to suffer when the pregnant woman felt the first pains of labor. The other woman gave birth to a child. Rere-ao said to the midwives, "You stay here. I must go out to defecate." She went to the house of the woman to whom the child had been born. She said, "Give me this child. I want to suckle it." The woman passed the child to her and she stole it. She put it in front between her tapa skirt and her waist. Then she returned to her house and said to the women sitting there, "Hurry and take my child." They came to deliver the child and it was born from the front part of her bosom. The real parents looked for their child who had been stolen by Rere-ao. They came to the house of Rere-ao and said, "The child is ours. Why did you steal him?" Then they said to the people, "She only pretended to have a child and for that reason she has taken our child. She is Rere-ao, stealer of the child." The parents took their child back, and thereafter the people made fun of Rere-ao and called her Rere-ao-toki-poki (Rere-ao-the-stealer-of-the-child).

The present islanders do not care whether they have sons or daughters. Formerly sons were preferred, as in many parts of Polynesia. "The son has to carry on the line, succeed to the title and inherit the estate" (31, p. 37). Father Zumbohm (230, vol. 6, p. 131) writes:

> . . . If the newborn child was a boy, there was great rejoicing, but if it was a daughter there was less enthusiasm. All of the affection of the family was bestowed upon the first born son, whereas the last one was despised; he bore a nickname that nobody pronounced without laughing.

Pregnancy

At the third or fifth month of pregnancy, but never in the fourth or later than the fifth month, the husband's father offered an earth oven to the parents of the expectant mother. This oven was called *umu takapu moa kokoma* (*takapu*, ceremonial earth oven; *moa kokoma*, intestines of the fowls) and was "proportioned to the number of sweet potatoes or fowls they had at their disposal" (230, vol. 6, p. 130). The food cooked in it was presented with the words, "Umu takapu moa ka kai" (Eat the earth oven of fowl's intestines), and eaten on the spot. The name of this feast was *rae* (the first fruits, the